

P L E N U M

of

CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

COMMUNIST PARTY OF UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

T H E S I S

ON

THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SITUATION

AND

THE TASKS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

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CHAPTER I.

The Sharpening of the General Crisis of World Capitalism
Since the Sixth World Congress.

The third period of the general crisis of world capitalism represents an important turning point in the development of the Communist International. For the American Party the third period is of especial significance since in this period there opens a new chapter in the life of the Party, an era of new struggles, of the consolidation of the Party on the basis of its overcoming the factional strife and with united forces carrying on a struggle against the Right danger.

1. The third period was characterised in the Thesis of the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International as follows:

"This third period, in which the contradiction between the growth of the productive forces and the contraction of markets becomes particularly accentuated, is inevitably giving rise to a fresh series of imperialist wars: among the imperialist states themselves, wars of the imperialist states against the U. S. S. R., wars of national liberation against imperialism and imperialist intervention, and to gigantic class battles. The intensification of all international antagonisms (antagonisms between the capitalist states and the U. S. S. R., the military occupation of Northern China - which is the beginning of the partition of China - the mutual struggles between the imperialists, etc.), the intensification of the internal antagonisms in capitalist countries (the swing to the left of the masses of the working class, growing acuteness of the class struggle), and the wide development of colonial movements (China, India and Syria), which are taking place in this period, will inevitably lead -- through the further development of the contradictions of capitalist stabilisation -- to capitalist stabilisation becoming still more precarious and to the severe intensification of the general crisis of capitalism."

As a result of the accentuation of all antagonisms of capitalism and especially the sharpening of the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, there follows a merging of the social democracy with the State power and the employers' organizations, thus converting social democracy into an open instrument of imperialism, "the last reserve of the bourgeoisie." The sharpening of the struggle against social democracy and particularly its "left wing" and its influence within the working class was consequently laid down by the Sixth World Congress as the chief task of the Communist Parties.

The increasing pressure of the bourgeoisie and social democracy on the working class in the third period manifests itself within the ranks of the Communist Parties in the revival of Right opportunist tendencies, thus signalling the Right danger as the main danger of the present period. The Sixth Congress, therefore, declared that "on the basis of the partial stabilisation of capitalism and directly owing to the influence of social democracy, the

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principal line of deviation from the correct political position observed within the Communist Parties at the present time is toward the Right. This implies a systematic struggle against the conciliatory attitude towards the Right wing tendencies within the Communist Parties."

With regard to the Communist Party of America, the Thesis of the Sixth Congress, while recording successes, made reference to a number of Right mistakes committed by the Party and at the same time enjoined upon the Party as its most important task to put an end to the unprincipled factional strife, to increase the recruiting of workers into the Party and to energetically promote workers to leading posts in the Party.

2. The development of events after the Sixth Congress confirmed entirely the line laid down by the Congress. The further sharpening of the internal and external antagonisms of the capitalist system, the sharpening of the Anglo-American rivalry, the approaching danger of world war, and especially war against the Soviet Union, (growth of military, naval, aerial, economic, political and ideological preparations for war in all imperialist countries; direct provocation of war by the imperialist tools, the Chinese bourgeois government, against the Soviet Union), etc.; the growth of the anti-imperialist movements in colonial and semi colonial countries (India, Arabistan, Latin American countries) and especially the sharpening of the class struggles of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie (Ruhr. struggle; Lodz strike in Poland, wave of strikes in France, and May Day battles in Berlin) characterize the period after the Sixth World Congress.

Social democracy appeared more and more openly as an agent of imperialism for the direct preparation of the imperialist war. The German social democracy in control of the government forces, shot down the German proletarians on the streets of Berlin. Within the Communist Parties the Right opportunist elements began open struggle against the Communist International, attempting to split the Communist Parties and even the revolutionary trade union movement (Hais and Jilek in Czechoslovakia, Brandler and Thalheimer in Germany). In the American Party, some former leaders (Lovestone, Pepper) attempted to crystallise the Right errors of the Party into a definite opportunist line directed against the Communist International.

On the other hand, with the successful growth of Socialist construction and the offensive against the capitalistic elements in the U. S. S. R., there grew the resistance of these elements (especially of the village kulaks) and found expression in the ranks of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in the crystallisation of the opportunist tendencies. These tendencies advocated new concessions to the kulak elements, the curbing of socialist industrialisation and resisted the further development of the political activity of the working class in the form of enlargement of proletarian self criticism and further proletarianisation of the trade union and Party apparatus.

The Right opposition, headed by Comrade Bucharin, came out with proposals to stop the offensive against the capitalist elements of the countryside, with the proposal to lessen the tempo of industrialisation, counterposing to the Five-Year Plan of Socialist industrialisation their Two-Year Plan of Aid to agriculture. On the international questions, Comrade Bucharin formulated the theory of the vanishing competition within capitalist countries, softening of the inner contradictions of capitalism and the disappearance of the problem of markets, of the problems of price, competition and crisis, so that capitalism within each country loses its anarchist character and is transformed into organized capitalism. This theory gave the ideological justification to the opportunist interpretation of the third period by the international Right wing and conciliators and giving

them political and organizational support.

3. The Tenth Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, reviewing the development of events since the Sixth World Congress, and confirming the line of the Sixth Congress, pointed out as new features of the situation since the World Congress the sharply outlined radicalisation of the international working class and the oncoming of a new rising tide of revolutionary proletarian movement. The Tenth Plenum stated that

"The correctness of the estimation made by the Sixth Congress of the present third period of post-war capitalism is being ever more obviously demonstrated as a period of the increasing growth of the general crisis of capitalism and of the accelerated accentuation of the fundamental external and internal contradictions of imperialism, leading inevitably to imperialist wars, to great class conflicts, to an era of development of A NEW UPWARD SWING OF THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT IN THE PRINCIPAL CAPITALIST COUNTRIES, TO GREAT ANTI IMEERIALIST REVOLUTIONS IN COLONIAL COUNTRIES."

In view of this new phase of the sharpening struggle and in view of the social democracy having come into power, (German social democracy and British labor party) the Tenth Plenum placed before the Communist Parties with especial emphasis the task of decisively strengthening the struggle against social democracy and particularly against its "left wing" as the most dangerous enemy of Communism in the ranks of the labor movement and the chief brake upon the growth of the fighting activity of the toiling masses.

The Tenth Plenum stated that the successful cleansing of the Communist Parties of the opportunist elements had resulted in an increased strength and fighting capacities of the Communist Parties. The Tenth Plenum, after pointing out that the Right danger is the main danger in the ranks of the Comintern and that the sharp political and organizational fight against it constitutes the principal tasks of all sections of the Comintern, declared

"The defense by individual members of Right deviation views condemned by the Comintern as an anti-Party tendency profoundly hostile to the interests of the proletarian revolutionary movement, is incompatible with membership of the Communist Party."

In view of this, the Tenth Plenum demanded of the conciliators a clear-cut disassociation from the Right deviators, a fight not only in words but in deeds against the Right deviations, unconditional submission to and active carrying into effect of all the decisions of the Comintern and of its sections. Failure to carry out any one of these stipulations would put them outside the ranks of the C. I.

4. In accordance with the analysis given by the Tenth Plenum, the crisis of capitalism becomes ever more accentuated at this time. The growth of the chief contradictions of this ^{third} period, especially the contradiction between the growth of productive forces and markets, was manifested in the growing economic and political offensive of the bourgeoisie in all countries (wage cuts and lockouts in England and in France, intensification of rationalisation, growing unemployment) and growing radicalisation of the working class. In the sphere of inter-imperialist conflicts, the Hague conference was an open demonstration of the sharpness of the antagonism between the imperialist powers. The Young Plan and the International Reparations Bank, being the instruments for the economic and political penetration of American capital into European economy, and Briand's reactionary utopia of a United States of Europe, are the clearest manifestation of the intensification of the antagonisms among the imperialist powers and prin-

cipally between Great Britain and the United States.

Just as in the pre-war years, all international conflicts among the imperialist powers aligned themselves around the central antagonism - the struggle between Great Britain and Germany - the fight of the two most powerful imperialist countries for the world hegemony, so today all inter-imperialist antagonisms and conflicts tend to group themselves around the fight of the two most powerful imperialist forces - the United States and Great Britain. Notwithstanding the pacific gestures and bombastic talk of reduction of armaments, "better understanding" between the imperialist governments of Hoover and MacDonald, the Anglo American rivalry assumes the form of a feverish preparation for war covered by a screen of pacifist quackery spread equally by the openly imperialist government of Hoover and the Labor Government of MacDonald.

The economic and political penetration of American capital in China (Wall Street agents as advisers of Nanking Government, treaty for concessions to exploit all Chinese airways) sharpens the rivalry with Great Britain (which builds the Chinese navy against the Imperialist rivals of Britain) and with Japan, a foremost exploiter of China.

Preparations for war against the Soviet Union assumes the forms of armed provocation, kindling the fires of war in Manchuria as a prelude to a general armed attack by the imperialist powers against the Soviet Union. In these preparations U.S. Imperialism plays the role of an active participant and leader (Stimson plan of "internationalization" of Chinese Eastern Railway, i.e. seizure of the railway by the imperialist powers, primarily by the U.S.A.)

The Arab uprising against British Imperialism in Palestine showed the rising resistance of the colonial world against imperialism, while a further proof was afforded by the continued growth of the powerful revolutionary movement in India despite the efforts of the British bourgeoisie in the Meerut trial to suppress the struggle of the workers and peasants, and is still further attested by growing resistance of the toiling masses of Latin-America against the invasion of U.S. capital, (the strike movements in several Latin-American countries reaching the point of mass revolt in Colombia, the struggle of the masses against the Yankee dominations in Cuba, the revolutionary movements in Nicaragua, Venezuela, and growth of new forms of the Latin-American working class movement (Latin-American Confederation of Labor)).

The successful socialist construction of the U.S.S.R., which is revolutionizing the working class of the world, advances ever more rapidly with the success of the Five-Year Plan (Socialist Industrialization and especially Socialist Reconstruction of agriculture) which in the figures of the first year has already gone beyond the maximum estimate previously given, and now with the institution of the uninterrupted productive week (in which each worker has every fifth day off) gives possibility of accomplishing the Five Year Plan in four years, and has strikingly demonstrated the incorrectness of the line of the Right opposition within the Soviet Union.

CHAPTER II

Economic Situation of American Capitalism

5. American capitalism is not isolated from the sharply accentuated crisis of world capitalism. American capitalism is an integral part of the world capitalist system; and, having become the world's economic center of gravity, is not and cannot be exempted from the effects of the inexorable laws of the decline and the downfall of capitalist society. But on the contrary this becomes one of the powerful factors accentuating this general crisis. The Pepper-Lovestone theory of exceptionalism, according to which there is a crisis of world capitalism, excepting American capitalism, a radicalization of the masses, excepting those in the United States, a general necessity of struggle against social reformism, except in America, a task of struggle against the Right danger, except in the American Party, has been completely proven false by the whole course of events which show that the United States becomes ever more deeply involved in the general crisis of world capitalism.

All of the main features of the third period of the post war crisis of capitalism as revealed in the analysis of the Sixth Congress of the Communist International, are manifesting themselves -- some of them even more sharply than elsewhere -- in the present situation in the United States. These features include the rapid development of technique, the growth of the productive forces, the accelerating growth of combines and trusts, the increasing tendency toward state capitalism, the increasing contradiction between the rapidly growing productive forces and the much more slowly developing markets, the intensifying rationalization, the growing class antagonisms and consequent sharpening of the class struggle, the obviously accelerating process of radicalization of the working class, the intensification of the international antagonisms and the consequent feverish preparations for a new imperialist war.

The rapidity of growth of the productive forces in the United States outdistances that of any other capitalist country. Only the growth of the socialist economy in the U.S.S.R. successfully challenges the rate of growth of the productive forces of American capitalism.*

6. The continued and accelerated growth of concentration and centralization of capital exemplified in the recent merger of the giants Standard Oil and Vacuum Oil and of the National City Bank and the Corn Exchange Bank and of many others; the growing economic expansion and the aggressiveness of American capitalism, especially in the Latin American countries, are typical features of the third period of the crisis of post war capitalism. These features are more obviously demonstrated here because of the unequal development of American capitalism compared with other capitalist countries and because of the characteristic historical features of American capitalism. But they cannot be considered

*Comparative figures of the first half of 1929 concerning basic products illustrates this.

Production of Steel, Pig Iron & Coal
(For the first half of 1929)

(NOTE: The figures are expressed as a percentage of the first six months of 1928 taken as 100.)

	<u>Steel</u>	<u>Pig Iron</u>	<u>Coal</u>	<u>Import</u>	<u>Export</u>
United States	117.1	116.8	106.8	112.2	110.5
Europe (without U.S.S.R.)	108.0	103.3	104.5	100.5	102.4
World (without U.S.S.R.)	112.8	109.9	105.5	103.9	102.2
U.S.S.R.	113.3	122.8	113.7	75.9	122.0

as something peculiar to American capitalism only, nor can they be claimed as signs of an independent development of American capitalism, differing in its nature from the development of the disintegrating capitalist world. On the contrary, because of the very intensity of the economic developments of American capitalism, all the fundamental contradictions of the present crisis of world capitalism express themselves in many respects even more sharply here than in other parts of the capitalist world. The very rapidity of growth of the productive forces in the United States becomes in itself a powerful factor for the intensification and acceleration of the general crisis of capitalism.

As a result, American capitalism reproduces most sharply the fundamental contradiction of the third period -- the disproportion between the growth of the productive forces and the market. Thus the problem of the market does not only ^{not} disappear, as the international opportunists maintain, but it actually dominates the economy and the policies of American imperialism. The effects of this main contradiction manifest themselves in all sections of American economy. Even now, the productive capacity of American industry as a whole exceeds actual production by from 20 to 25 per cent, while in basic industry this disproportion is far higher. The permanent agrarian crisis and the structural unemployment which diminish the buying capacity of the toiling masses widen the gulf between production and the markets. Not only will the so-called Farm Relief Bill not diminish the agrarian crisis nor help the small farmers but being a financial aid from the State to big capital it will accelerate the further penetration of finance-capital into agriculture, squeezing out the small producers and thus bringing the domination of monopoly capital in agriculture with its consequent accentuation of the crisis.

From a country mainly exporting raw materials and agricultural produce, the United States has more and more become an exporter of manufactured goods and an importer of raw material. Between 1920 and 1928, manufactured goods grew from 51.5 per cent of the total exports to 70 per cent. By means of high protectionism embodied in the new tariff bill, American capital attempts to squeeze out of the internal market all foreign competitors. The effects of the same contradiction in Europe and the consequent intensification of competition of the European countries in the European markets, the dropping out from the world capitalist system of the whole enormous market of the Soviet Union caused the diminution of United States exports to European countries and the deflection of the mainstream of exports to colonial and semi-colonial countries. But there, too, American capital faces the same problem of restricted markets caused by the development of capitalism in these colonial countries, and the growing pauperization of the peasant masses. It is this main contradiction of the third period which precipitates American capitalism toward an armed clash for the redivision of the world's markets -- toward a war against the Soviet Union, or a new inter-imperialist war. This fundamental contradiction is also the mainspring of the furiously accelerated rationalization. Both of these dominating features of the present situation in the United States -- the feverish war preparations and the ruthless rationalization, are inseparable and mutually interwoven consequences of the same fundamental capitalist contradiction.

7. The present economic situation in the United States contains certain elements of "hoch conjunktur" (business boom) of capitalism, such as the growth of the productive forces, as indicated above, the centralization and concentration of capital and rapid new accumulation. The index figures of the Federal Reserve Board shows the volume of industrial output in the first period of 1929 as 117 to 122 per cent, the figures of 1923 to 1925 being taken as a basis.

Foreign trade shows the continued growth of import and export.*

But side by side with these elements of a "hoch conjunktur" (business boom) the present economic situation in the United States also shows the clear features of an oncoming economic crisis. The crisis begins in the steel industries and found already its expression in the considerable fall in stock exchange values. In the automobile industry, now one of the most important American industries consuming not less than 25 per cent of the total steel production in the country, the signs of over production can be clearly observed. Production of autos is 52 per cent greater in the first six months of 1929 than in the corresponding period of 1928. The over-production of oil has reached a point where it became the occasion for a conference of state governors who looked for a remedy. The building industry is declining visibly and has reached already a reduction of 9.5 per cent since last year. The chronic agrarian crisis has reached a new point of acuteness.

The fall in capital issues is outstanding. From 5,067 million dollars in the first six months of 1927 and 5,681 million dollars in 1928 to 4,839 millions in the corresponding period of 1929.

The wild rush of stock speculation in Wall Street.

A still more marked decline is noticeable in the export of capital which fell from 527 millions in the first six months of 1927 and 1,164 millions in the first six months of 1928 to 243 millions in the corresponding period of 1929.

Particularly clearly is the immediate pre-crisis situation registered in the present condition of the money market.

The disparity of growth of productive forces and markets and the resulting crisis of capitalism finds another clear manifestation in the fact that such commodity productions as, for instance, cotton goods, shoes, etc., which are intended primarily for mass consumption do not share at all in the "hoch conjunktur" (business boom).

All of these facts lead to the inevitable conclusion that the present economic situation in the United States is that we are before a break in the curve of "hoch conjunktur", in the beginning of a pre-crisis situation.

8. The coming of an economic crisis will immediately sharpen the contradictions inherent in American capitalism, will lead internationally in an accentuation of the general crisis of world capitalism, sharpen acutely the war danger, intensify the class struggle, hasten the fascisation of the State (fusing of employers' organizations and reformist trade union apparatus with the bourgeois State). The efforts to overcome the crisis by throwing the burden upon the shoulders of the working class (wage cuts, unemployment, breaking down of living standards) will speed up the radicalization of the working class and lead to a perspective of big class battles.

*Foreign trade in the first five months of 1929 was as follows:

	1928			1929			Surplus	
	Import	Export	Surplus	Import	Export	Imp.	Exp.	
January	338	411	73	369	488		119	
February	351	371	20	369	442		73	
March	380	421	41	384	490		116	
April	345	364	20	409	427		18	
May	354	423	69	401	387	14		
Total for the 5 mos.	1768	1990	223	1932	2234	14	326	

CHAPTER III

Rationalization

§. In an endeavor to overcome the contradictions with which it is confronted the American bourgeoisie resort to methods of intensive exploitation of labor in the form of rationalization.

Contrary to the conception of the opportunists of rationalization as being only the mechanization and simplification of the processes of production, rationalization is not a historically progressive but a reactionary method of intensifying exploitation, of the working masses, a hopeless attempt of the bourgeoisie to extricate themselves from the contradictions of the capitalist method of production.

By the stretch-out, speed-up, conveyers, group piece-work, raising man-mile averages, etc., rationalization increases the rate of exploitation. The immediate effect of the rationalization and the mechanization of labor is a rapidly increasing economic insecurity of the workers. The permanent army of the unemployed grows by leaps and bounds. This army in turn supplies the basis for the most determined attacks on the part of the capitalist class on the wage and living standards of the workers. It also leads to a premature ageing of the workers. It is accompanied by a marked tendency to increase the use of youth and women workers as more helpless objects of exploitation. The simplification of the processes of production gradually but inevitably robs masses of skilled workers of the value of their skill, throwing them down to the level of semi- and unskilled workers, thus powerfully aiding the development of homogeneity in the American proletariat. At the same time, diminishing the difference between skilled and unskilled, reducing the wages of the skilled worker towards the general level, and so undermining the economic basis of the Labor Aristocracy, a development which reduces relatively and positively the number of skilled workers in industry, raises a number of skilled workers into the category of technical personnel. This whole process gradually undermines the base of social reformism in the United States.

The very process of labor is a mechanical deterioration of the living standards of the workers, if not accompanied by wage increases corresponding to the increase of productivity or output, or if not accompanied by a decrease of the working hours corresponding with the increased quantity of energy extracted from the worker by rationalization. The additional expenditure of labor power demands a corresponding additional supply of energy for the workers in the form of a raised living standard. In many instances, this additional expenditure of energy of the workers cannot be replaced at all and simply contributes to the shortening of their lives. Not only have wage rates not increased, but save for small sections of skilled organized workers have actually declined in industry after industry.

Industrialization of the South

10. The theoreticians, propagandists and apologists of the American capitalist class are loudly singing the praises of the present "prosperity", in order to drown the cry of misery arising from the growing exploitation and grinding poverty of the masses. This is especially illustrated in the industrial development of the South which is heralded as a source of new life for American capitalism, as a new "industrial revolution", but means in reality the laying of a stronger base for the proletarian revolution in the United States.

The industrialization of the South is accompanied by the proletarianization of large masses. It takes place under the most modern system of production, the most intensive rationalization, and notoriously miserable wages and conditions of labor. Within an incredibly short time, the number of looms assigned to one worker in a southern textile mill was more than doubled and in some instances reaches the number 110. The wages range up to \$9.00 weekly for women and \$12.00 for men, with a working week ranging from 60 to 72 hours.

CHAPTER IV.

Radicalization of the Working Masses in the U.S.

11. The sharply outlined radicalisation of the international working class, singled out by the Tenth Plenum as the new feature of the world situation, since the Sixth World Congress, has clearly shown itself also in the United States. In the United States, radicalisation is caused by the worsening conditions of the working class resulting from rationalisation, by the ruthless fight against the workers' movement, against strikes, against the Communist Party, carried on by the combined forces of the state apparatus, the apparatus of the American Federation of Labor (aided by their henchmen, the "left" social reformists), in ever closer alliance with the employers' organizations and with the bourgeois state. The situation in the United States is characterised by a deepening of class antagonisms in general; and in particular, the antagonism towards finance capital of the farmers ruined by the agrarian crisis. The radicalisation of the workers is characterised by the broadening of the front of the class struggle, by the tendency of the development of local struggles into mass struggles; by the participation more and more in the struggle of the unorganized workers, especially the women workers, of the youth and above all, of Negro proletarians; by the fact that strikes of the workers take place without the reformist unions and against the will of the reformist trade union apparatus, strikes in which the workers show themselves ready to accept the leadership of the Communist Party; by the sharp form of the struggles of the working class; by the growing tendency of development of economic struggles of the proletariat into political struggles. In the United States, class battles are growing over from the bourgeois offensive to the proletarian counter-offensive, and partly to direct offensive struggles. In appreciating radicalisation, it is necessary to start with the historic backwardness of the proletarian movement and the previous level of the revolutionary struggle in the United States, and not with a mechanical comparison with that which appears in certain European countries. The process of radicalisation in the United States has already shown itself in a clear form in a whole series of labor struggles, and by a wave of strikes now developing. (food workers' strike, needle trades, truckmen, tunnelmen, bus drivers in and around New York; smelterers, New Jersey; automobile, Detroit; shoe, Boston and New York; the sharp and bitter battles in New Orleans, Marion, N. C., Elizabethtown, and Gastonia). The radicalisation has furthermore been demonstrated by the participation of over 100,000 workers on International Red Day and by the T. U. U. L. Convention with its large delegation from the basic industries and with its splendid militancy as well as by the revival of struggle inside the old unions on the part of the rank and file.

12. The struggle in the South symbolised by Gastonia is the best proof of the growing radicalisation of the working class in the third period. The struggles in the South resulting from the industrialisation process with its bitter exploitation through rationalisation spread from local conflicts to general mass struggles, from economic struggles to political struggles, the adoption of new forms of struggle, and the role of leadership being assumed by the Communist Party as well as by the treacherous and social fascist character of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy. The industrialisation of the South, glorified by the apologists of capitalism has extended the battlefields of the class struggle into the South and has generated class battles of a frequency and intensity hardly equalled in the history of the American working class. The struggles in the South likewise show the rapid recovery of the workers from defeat and the determination to overcome the bitter exploitation of rationalisation (Elizabethtown).

CHAPTER V.

Changes in the Political Situation in the United States.

13. With the development of the domination of finance capital, the fierce rationalisation process, the growing imperialist aggressions of American capitalism and the radicalisation of the masses, has gone the concentration of state power, the growing merging of trust capital with the state apparatus, growing tendencies towards state capitalism, the concentration of state power and the growing tendency towards fascisation. The present period is marked by a concentrated attack against the militant labor movement, and, in the first place, against the Communist Party, the more open and direct use of the state power in order to crush the rising resistance of the working class to put through the rationalisation schemes and to prepare the conditions for plunging the working class into the next imperialist war, particularly against the Soviet Union. This period is characterised by the open use of troops against strikers (Elizabethtown, Marion), by the shooting of workers (Gastonia, Marion, New Orleans) and by fascist attacks engineered by the state in collaboration with the bosses and labor bureaucracy, the establishment of a secret spy system (New York), the use of gangsters and thugs in collaboration with the state, labor bureaucracy and employers' organizations (New York, Gastonia), the increasing use of the underworld enormously swollen through the Volstead act, the virtual denial of the right of strike through the ever increasing use of the injunction backed up by police terror, the limitation of the right of assemblage and free speech, the terroristic methods of the state against striking workers, the reorganization of the bourgeois legal system through the Baumes laws, giving dictatorial powers to the judges and destroying "democratic" liberties, the Department of Labor registration of foreign born workers, the increased attacks upon Negro workers, the persistent and increasing persecution of the Communist Party, with the tendency to drive it into illegality, all indicate the increase of fascist tendencies, increase in the open brutality of the state in the class struggle and imparting an ever increasing political character to the struggles of the workers.

With the sharpening contradictions of American capitalism goes the increasing antagonisms within the ranks of the bourgeoisie. Politically this expresses itself by the fight around the Tariff Bill, by the tendency of a revival of the political activity of the Progressive Bloc, by the tendency to the formation of a third petty bourgeois party (the Dewey group), candidature of Enright (New York), of the "Square Deal" Party. These movements are reactionary in character; they seek to gain support from the toiling masses in order to exploit the rising tide of the workers' struggle and steer them away from a real fight against capitalism.

The Socialist Party has become more and more an open agent of imperialism and is exhibiting features of social fascism. In the needle trades it has allied itself with the state and gangsters and employers' organizations, to destroy militant organizations. The endorsement of the Young Plan by the spokesman of the Socialist Party likewise shows its open imperialist role. Its support of the rationalisation drive, company unionism, closer alliance with the A. F. of L. bureaucracy, state and underworld, the endorsement of Norman Thomas as candidate for City Mayor (New York) by the bourgeois Citizens Union and the petty bourgeois Dewey group is an expression of the fact that the Socialist Party has become definitely a third bourgeois party and that the capitalist class is seeking the development of this "last reserve of the bourgeoisie" as an instrument in the struggle against the revolutionary working class forces led by the Communist Party.

14. The American Federation of Labor is a pernicious social reformist or-

ganization which in the present period has become more and more an open tool of American imperialism, an agitator and organizer for the imperialist war plans, pace-maker for the mobilisation against the Soviet Union, champion of rationalisation. The apparatus of the trade union bureaucracy, of the American Federation of Labor has merged more and more with the state apparatus and the employers' organizations and has taken on a social fascist character, shown by its strike breaking role in New Orleans, in Elizabethtown, in Marion, in the needle trades and in every strike movement in the United States. It is the direct agency for frustrating the developing strike movement of the workers, for company unionising the trade unions, for imposing imperialist domination over the colonial and peoples, (pan-American Federation of Labor, Hemispherical autonomy) for carrying through the tariff laws with its increased burdens upon the working class. With the growth of American imperialism on a world scale, the American Federation of Labor exercises more and more the role of converting the trade unions into open instruments of imperialism, for suppressing the class struggle unions and crushing the rising tide of resistance of the working class. It has become the model of the reformists of all countries. Its close alliance with the openly fascist organizations, with thugs and gangsters, and with the police, only shows the social imperialist and social fascist role of the labor bureauacracy. The process of rationalisation, the robbing of the skill of the workers, is narrowing the base of the labor aristocracy upon which the A. F. of L. rests and its power becomes ever more closely linked with the bosses and the state machinery of the capitalist class.

With the exposure of the treacherous role of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy before the masses and the growing consciousness of the masses in regard to the social imperialist role of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy and under conditions of the radicalisation and growing struggle of the masses, efforts are being made to deceive the masses through the formation of "left" social reformist groups carrying on the policy of the A. F. of L. under the cover of "progressive" phrases. The Conference for Progressive Action (Musteites) is an attempt on the part of the social reformists under cover of left phrases to bring together the reformist elements under the banner of the more vigorous struggle against the Communist movement, to fight the rising tide of militant proletarian struggle. The treachery of the Musteites in the Paterson silk strike, in Marion, N. C. etc. shows openly the social reformist character of this movement. The fact that it operates under the mask of left phrases is intended to bolster up the waning influence of the outright social reformist elements (A. F. of L. and Socialist Party). among broad masses of workers despite the increased support to the A. F. of L. by the capitalists and state machinery and thereby stem the movement of the masses to the left. It thus shows its most dangerous reformist character and expresses the greatest danger to the working class which must be fought with increasing vigor. Every act of treachery must be fully exposed. Any proposals of united fronts with these elements must be mercilessly combated.

CHAPTER VI

THE RIGHT DANGER -- THE MAIN DANGER

In all Communist Parties, the chief danger in the third period is that of Right wing opportunism -- the corruption of the revolutionary policy of the proletarian class party by the injection of petty-bourgeois ideology, policies and methods, paralyzing the revolutionary fight of the proletarian party. The Right danger in the Communist Party of the United States finds in the objective conditions of the country fertile ground for virulent growth. The tremendous economic resources of the American bourgeoisie makes possible the corruption of the upper strata of the working class, labor aristocracy, relatively highly paid skilled workers forming the basis of the American Federation of Labor. This corruption takes place through "welfare" schemes, company unions, "labor" banks, "B & O Plans", and many other forms. The relatively high standard of life in comparison with European countries facilitated the spread of petty bourgeois illusions among the American workers. Other historical causes are the lack of the tradition of a class party of the proletariat, the presence in the working class of declassed immigrants, peasants and petty bourgeois, who become proletarianized upon entering American industry.

The Communist Party of the United States is surrounded by the heaviest pressure of such corruption in the working class, by the most subtle forms of bourgeois influence; and also there is little in its own historical development to fortify the Party against such influences -- little that could produce that Bolshevik firmness in class ideology and instinct which is necessary to an unswerving Leninist line. Other causes for the existence of Right tendencies in the Party are its feeble roots in the factories; insufficiently industrial proletarian social composition; the existence of old Social Democratic traditions in the leading cadres of the Party. These petty bourgeois influences powerfully affect the Communist Party and one of the manifestations of the opportunist influences upon our Party has been unprincipled factionalism, which has retarded the Party's growth during the past six years. Notwithstanding the repeated interventions of the Communist International the unprincipled factionalism continued and even flared up with renewed intensity and the Right opportunist errors were continued and aggravated. After the Sixth World Congress there began to be developed a crystallization of Right errors and tendencies in the American Party into an open opportunist political line directed against the CI. The theory of American exceptionalism, which found its clearest exponents in Pepper and Lovestone, was the basis of the mistakes of the majority and of the most important mistakes of the minority. Such a theory could lead only to the open road toward social patriotism and outright bourgeois patriotism. That "our country" is "exceptional" among the capitalist nations, that the inner contradictions of its capitalist system are subordinate to the external contradictions between imperialist powers, that "our own" bourgeoisie is in an "exceptional" position favorable to meeting the demands of "its" proletariat (preventing a fundamental radicalization of the working class and preserving the social-imperialist A. F. of L. as the "main stream" of the labor movement.

On the ground of this political line an organizational struggle developed against the Communist International starting with an open fight against the organizational proposals of the CI to the Sixth National Convention of the Party. This Convention, due to the unprincipled course of the leaders of both factions, did not fulfill the tasks before it.

In this situation the Communist International was compelled to intervene to put an end to the factional struggle and to redress the line of the Party. This Plenum of the Central Committee declares the Address of the Communist Inter-

national to the membership of the Party was fully justified and that its correctness has been confirmed by the course of the events in the Party. The Plenum of our Party asserts, that the renegade group of Lovestone, Gitlow and Wolfe & Co., have by their actions confirmed all that was said in the Address of the Communist International of their Right wing opportunism line; petty-bourgeois politicianism; their attempt to split the Communist Party, and to lead the Party out of the Communist International and into the swamp of social-reformism.

The evolution of the Lovestone group shows that today they stand clearly upon the platform of the international Right; their clear-cut opportunistic position is defined by their advocacy of the theory of American exceptionalism; their opportunistic estimation of the third period as marking the definitive economic and political stabilization of capitalism; by their theory of the primacy of the external contradictions, which means a conception of the softening of the inner contradictions and of the class struggle and against the conception of the radicalization of the working class which in practice has expressed itself in their counter-revolutionary intervention against the Party's call to strike on International Red Day, their liberal-bourgeois slogans in regard to the Gastonia defense, their under-estimation of the war danger against the Soviet Union, their conciliatory attitude toward the Socialist Party; their opportunistic conception of the Labor Party slogan based upon a united front with Social Democratic leaders; the theory of degeneration of the Communist International and their defense of and collaboration with the International Right Wing (the renegade article published in Brandler's organ inspired or written by the Lovestone group); the Lovestone group which being the American section of the International Right Wing, conducts the struggle with methods of American petty bourgeois politicianism (burglarizing of the Party office, the vicious slanders and collaboration with self-confessed spy elements in aiming to demoralize the Party); carrying forward the organizational work toward splitting the Party and building an anti-proletarian Party, tool of American social-imperialism. All these demonstrate with what truly American speed the Lovestone group has moved toward the bourgeois side of the barricades. The expulsion of such opportunistic elements is an absolute condition for cleansing the Party of corrupting and disintegrating forces. The Communist Party has grown stronger since the expulsion and because of the expulsion of the renegade group of opportunist leaders and their petty-bourgeois and intellectual followers. The effect of the Address of the Communist International has been to increase the fighting capacity of the Party and to give impetus to the drawing in of new proletarian forces.

The struggle against opportunism must be conducted against the conciliators and against conciliationism. Conciliationism is the formal acceptance of the international line, combined with failure to carry it out in practice, i. e., practical opposition. This may take many forms. It takes an extreme form when there is direct resistance to effective execution, "interpretations" of the international line in such a way as to destroy its meaning or conceal its difference from incorrect lines, etc. This is in effect conscious sabotage. But it may take more subtle forms when the process is less conscious or even unconscious, when there is simply lack of conviction or enthusiasm in carrying out the line, when acceptance has been honestly given, but the habits of thought move along old lines, etc. This last form is particularly important, because it can be largely involuntary and unconscious; nevertheless, in its objective effects, it can be as harmful as direct and conscious opposition. It can show itself not merely in incorrect lines, but in vacillation and delay in carrying out the correct line, and failure in consequence to give clear and confident leadership to the workers.

Those conciliators who sought to conceal their opposition to the line of the Communist International rapidly passed over into the camp of the Lovestone group, but conciliationism, which internationally agrees on all fundamental questions with the open opportunists, likewise expresses itself in the American Party in a tendency which while accepting the Address of the Communist International in words fails to grasp the meaning of the political line in the present period and shows itself incapable to carry out this line in practice. A vigorous struggle must be conducted against conciliationism and where they fail to fulfill the conditions laid down by the Tenth Plenum they must be unhesitatingly expelled from the ranks of the Party.

The struggle against the opportunist renegades and the conciliators, the expulsions of the Lovestoneites from the ranks of the Party, has meant a healing of the Party, but it would be an error to believe that with the fight against Lovestone and the conciliators the struggle against the Right danger is exhausted. The Right danger is so deeply rooted in the American Party that it would be a perilous illusion to maintain this. The chief manifestations of the Right danger in the Party at the present time are: (1) underestimation of the Right danger. This tendency expresses itself in a condemnation of Lovestone on grounds of a breach of discipline but in failure to see the opportunistic line of Lovestone, also in a hesitation in a matter of cleansing of the Party, failing to realize that in the third period it is necessary to fight the Right danger not only with political measures but with organizational methods as well. (2) Underestimation of the character of the third period (underestimation of the growth of inner contradictions, of radicalization of the masses and of the sharpening of the class struggle) expressed in some districts in connection with International Red Day in a fear to put forward the slogan for a strike and of hesitation to hold street demonstrations; and in regard to Gastonia a tendency to represent the Party policy as "too radical", to express pessimism and show signs of a policy of retreat; underestimation of the new forms of struggle and the under-estimation on the part of old trade union cadres of the new methods of mass struggle. (3) Remnants of the theory of exceptionalism expressed in appreciation of the situation in the U.S. and even of wrong conceptions in regard to the relationship between the Party and the Communist International; insufficient internationalism. (4) A tendency to lag behind the masses in the everyday struggles of the working class (khvostism); failure of Party organization to assume leading roles in strike struggles and the general tendency of too slow a tempo in responding to the struggles of the masses. This is a particularly perilous form of the Right danger in the present period of growing strike struggles, manifesting itself in its worst form in an under-estimation of trade union work and a lack of sufficient energy in participation in mass work. (5) Remnants of factionalism, a tendency of some comrades to "save" the Party for the former majority by "sacrificing" Lovestone, and a tendency on the part of some comrades of the former minority to regard the Address as a victory and endorsement of the line of the former minority. Under-estimation of social reformism expressing itself in the under-estimation of the trencherous role of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy (needle trades) and the particularly dangerous character of Left social reformism (Boston shoe strike). (6) Opposition to the raising of political slogans in economic strike struggles (Weisbord, Elizabethton strike). (7) Underestimation of shop nuclei form of organization and of improving the social composition of the Party as well as in insufficient Negro, women and youth work; manifestations of a retreat before and even surrender to white chauvinism (workers' jury); also in such errors as that made in the Freiheit on Palestine, expressing the influence of Jewish nationalism; opportunistic tendencies in language sections (Finnish, Greek and other sections); in an underestimation of the function of the Daily Worker as the central organ of the Party.

Achievements and Shortcomings of the Party Work.

Despite the acute factional struggle which had existed for many years, the strong Right tendencies, the weakened Party apparatus, the Party made the following principal accomplishments:

The Party accepted quickly the Comintern criticism and wholeheartedly supported the line of the Communist International and defeated the attempts of the Lovestonites to split the Party. The factional walls were broken down. A united fight of the Party against the Right danger was developed. There was a quick political reaction to Right errors (Palestine, trade union work, etc.). There was a mobilization of the Party and the masses for the Trade Union Unity Convention, aiding to create it on a mass basis, particularly of the unorganized and unskilled workers with a big representation from women, youth and particularly Negro proletarians.

The struggle of Gastonia was developed into a struggle of the entire working class and the Party placed in the foreground as the only force leading the working class, bringing out the political phases of this struggle through correct slogans and tactics.

Further accomplishments were: Mobilization for International Red Day and for the defense of the Soviet Union as well as through the firmer struggle of the Party against the war danger. The mobilization of over 100,000 workers on International Red Day in demonstrations, militant in spirit and in some places in partial strikes (New York, Pennsylvania.)

Development of the mass work, increasing participation of the Party in strike struggles, development of the united front tactic from below, development of the I. L. D. and W. I. R. Beginning of the drawing of new forces into the Party cadres. Beginning of the establishment of real Bolshevik self-criticism and proletarian democracy.

At the same time, the work of the Party and its leadership must be noted the following shortcomings:

1) Despite the mobilization of the Party for the line of the Communist International, the enlightenment campaign at the beginning was not thorough enough ideologically in the fight against the Right danger, nor was their sufficient discussion and criticism in regard to the application of the general line to the concrete tasks.

2) The entire Party was not drawn in sufficiently into the daily struggle against the Right danger.

3) At the beginning, insufficient and not quick enough reaction to the propaganda of Lovestone.

4) A certain degree of slowness in following up political criticism of Right errors with organizational measures.

5) Still insufficient development of inner Party democracy and of the development of Bolshevik self-criticism.

6) Manifestations of bureaucracy and the insufficient activity of the Party organizations in carrying out the tasks of the Party.

7) Insufficient speed in the drawing in of new forces, non factional and

proletarian , into the Party cadres.

8) On International Red Day, insufficient preparation of the Party and the establishment of insufficient contact with the shops.

9) In connection with the Trade Union Unity Convention, not deep enough roots established in the shops; insufficient organizational preparation, particularly in districts; and lack of organizational concretisation .

10) Still insufficient development of Negro, women, youth work.

These and other shortcomings in the Party work must be overcome by increasing the vigor and energy of the application of the line of the Comintern and by a policy of Bolshevist self-criticism. The Party must not fear the criticism of its shortcomings, knowing as it does that the Lovestoneites, as tools of the bourgeoisie, will sneer at the shortcomings of the Party and will seek to exploit them for their opportunistic factional ends. The open criticism of the shortcomings of the Party is a symptom of the growing strength of the Party. The Party will grow stronger in the correction of its shortcomings and it will help to unify and finally consolidate the Party, many of whose errors, shortcomings and weaknesses have sprung from the factionalism, right deviations, which have sapped the energy and fighting capacities of the Party.

CHAPTER VIII

The Struggle for the Winning of the Majority of the
Working Class and the Tasks of the Party

1. The development of the general features of world crisis and in the United States the coming of an economic crisis, means a more bitter process of rationalization, more open and brutal use of the State power, the closer merging of social democracy and social reformism with the bourgeoisie and its degeneration into social fascism, the slashing of wages, the depression of living standards, the increase of unemployment, deepening the class revolt of the proletariat and favoring its adoption of new revolutionary methods of struggle, the entrance of ever greater masses of the unorganized in the class battles, the development of local battles into general struggles, the ever-increasing politicalizing of the struggles, the growing confidence of the workers in the revolutionary trade union movement, and the increasing drift of the masses to the Left in the direction of the Communist Party. The present situation demands the orientation of the Party towards new methods, new forms of struggle, new organizations, new ways in getting hold of the masses ... only by such tactics by making use of all the new forms and methods for the organization of the working class will the Communist Party be able to bring over to their side the majority of the working class and to march at the head in the struggle for power and for proletarian dictatorship.

The increasing radicalization of the masses in the U.S., the Leftward drift of the masses, the oncoming of a new rising tide of the revolutionary labor movement, raises concretely the task of winning the majority of the working class, which means the conquest of the leading role in the labor movement by our Party, that has still before it the task of transforming itself in the shortest possible time into a mass Communist Party. Therefore, the Communist Party must participate in and secure the leadership of every strike, every struggle, every demonstration of the working class; must strive to convert the economic battles of the workers into major political struggles (into struggles of the whole working class against triple alliance of capitalist state, employers' organizations and reformists). In this task the Party still shows too slow a tempo and is weighed down by the past and by deviations to the Right.

2. The task of winning a majority of the working class under the banner of the Party calls for the energetic application of the tactics of the united front from below on the basis of the immediate needs of the workers particularly in connection with the struggle against rationalization (unemployment, speed up, lowering of the standards of the working class, growing insecurity, etc.) linked up with the political struggles.

3. The new period demands in the working class movement the development of new forms of struggles -- the new revolutionary trade unions with the participation of broad unorganized masses, strike committees, workers defense committees, especially in the South, organization of the unemployed, shop committees. This includes the intensification of our work for the organization of revolutionary trade unions, and the strengthening of the revolutionary opposition in the old unions co-ordinated and led by the Trade Union Unity League.

4. The winning of the leading role by the Communist Party of the mass struggles can be achieved only on the basis of the most ruthless struggle against the social reformists of all brands especially the so-called "Left" wing, Musteism and all its variations.

The winning of the majority of the working class is impossible without a mass Communist Party rooted in the factories. The securing of the leadership of the mass struggles cannot be achieved with the present small membership which is less than 50% in the basic industries and only 15% of whom are organized into factory nuclei, the majority of which have only a nominal existence. This basic weakness is further revealed in the fact that in whole sections of decisive industry (chemical, marine, railroad, etc.) the Party has in spite of some recent improvements practically no foothold while in the other important branches (steel, mining, etc.) the membership is very small in comparison with the number of workers in the industry. Similarly the number of Negro proletarians (2-3% of the membership), the average age of the membership (30-35), the small number of workingwomen (about 10% and an additional 10% of housewives), etc., further reveal the decisive importance of the necessity of improving the social composition of the Party membership. The number of native-born workers in the Party is still very small in spite of their increasing role in the basic rationalized industries.

The lack of systematic mass activity, the insufficient orientation to the factories and entirely inadequate attention to trade union work further aggravates the lack of preparedness of the Party for its growing tasks. The apparatus of the Party as well as its leading committees will suffer from a lack of capably trained workers able to organize and lead the mass struggles of the workers. There is an insufficient organic connection between the leading committees and the basic Party organizations, a lack of effective political leading of the Party organizations by the leading Party committees.

Despite progress made in the centralization of the language work through the establishment of the Language Department of the CEC the Party is not yet centralized and many of the language fractions still lag behind in accomplishing the tasks of the Party. The life of the units is still largely devoid of sufficient political content, of systematic organizational work. The fractions in the trade unions and other mass organizations do not sufficiently fulfill their tasks as organizers and leaders of the masses.

In order to effect a decisive change in organization the Party, basing itself on the organization thesis of the CI, must at once put into effect the concrete measures set forth in the organization thesis of the Sixth Party Convention.

Special attention must be paid to colonizing of factories especially in key and war industries. Colonizers must be regarded not as investigators who go from factory to factory for a visit but comrades who are sent into a factory for a longer period for steady and persistent work, to win the confidence of the workers through their activity and leadership in the struggles of the workers.

A recruiting campaign for new members shall be opened after the Plenum.

While care must be taken not to expose the Communists in the factories to the employers and their agents, and the nuclei must function illegally in most cases, this must not be interpreted to mean that there must be any falling off of activity of the factory nuclei or that any excuses along this line for the failure to build or extend the work of the factory nuclei can be tolerated by the Party. The factory nuclei must be known to all workers in the shops through their mass activity, their agitational work and their leadership, though the individual members of the nuclei may and in most cases will be known only to the most militant.

reinvigorating

Strengthening of the Party Apparatus and the
Reinvigoration of the Leading Committees .

The progress that has been made in eliminating opportunist non-proletarian and factional elements from the leading committees and apparatus of the Party must be continued and the entire apparatus enlivened by the drawing in and the development of fresh cadres of non factional proletarian forces, particularly from the basic industries, among them the Negro proletarians. The reinvigoration of the Party apparatus must be systematically undertaken through the holding of conferences in the Districts and Sections on the basis of a critical review of the work and shortcomings and, particularly, since the Address. Bureaucratic methods of work that still have a big hold on the Party apparatus must be consciously combatted. District Plenums shall be revived and shall be held regularly once a month. Written reports of work of the Section and District Committees shall be given periodically and shall be printed in the Party Press.

Proletarian Self-Criticism.

The achievement of proletarian self-criticism (not factional criticism or criticism which aims to unfold a platform of faction struggle) must be established and intensified, by methods of reporting and work which allows for a discussion of the problems, the bringing to light of all experiences and errors and by the initiative being taken by the leading committees in this regard. The Party must combat any resistance to self criticism based upon the social democratic fear of exposing our shortcomings before the masses. Bolshevist self criticism is in itself an instrument of bringing the Party closer to the masses.

The enlivening of the Party units, in addition to the above mentioned improvements, must be achieved by the promotion and stimulation of the taking up of all Party political problems by the factory and street nuclei, through the organization of the discussion of important problems and the Party campaigns. Study groups in the factories, neighborhood classes, individual self study, must be stimulated and the whole ideological and political work of the Party improved. The "COMMUNIST" must be converted into a real theoretical expression of the Party. A whole plan must be worked out for the whole widespread reading and study of Marxist literature. The Party schools must concentrate their work in training the Party membership for the leadership in the revolutionary struggle. The Party must give more attention to the publication of pamphlets and literature. Literature distribution in the factories must become part of the Party's everyday efforts. The improvement of the Daily Worker and the entire Party press, the development of a whole network of worker-correspondents, the increase of the circulation of the Daily Worker must be placed before the Party as one of its most serious and urgent tasks.

Financial Situation.

The difficult financial situation in the Party has become a question of serious importance. The financial situation - an inheritance of the factional past with its reckless methods developed as a result of lack of centralisation, the lack of proper budgeting or budgetary control, the tendency of auxiliary organizations to foist their activities and responsibilities upon Party apparatus, financial expansion without plan or mass basis. The Central Committee and District Committees must take the following measures immediately to improve the situation:-

Financial commissions to control the financial activities of all organizations and auxiliaries on a planned budgetary basis; drastic economies; increase of income and reduction of expenditures of organizations.

Americanisation.

The Party must pay particular attention to the overcoming of the present weakness with regards to the fact that American workers in the Party constitute only a small portion of its membership.

The special attention to drawing in of American workers, the Americanisation of the Party, must not be misinterpreted in a vulgar sense. What it does mean is -- to root the Party among the basic sections of the American working class and in the decisive industries and the orientation of the Party toward the concrete economic and political struggles of the American workers.

CHAPTER VIII.

PROGRAM OF ACTION.

The Party requires the formulation of a Program of Action, in the working out of which the active Party membership shall participate.

The chief tasks of the Party in the present period are:

- A) A struggle against capitalist rationalisation and the capitalist offensive.
- B) Struggle against imperialist war, against American imperialism and for the defense of the Soviet Union.
- C) Struggle against social reformism and the Right danger within the Party.
- D) The building of the Party.

The work of organizing the unorganized, primarily the unskilled and semi-skilled, must be looked upon by the Party as one of its principal tasks. The unorganized masses must be organized into the new unions, affiliated with the Trade Union Unity League and at the same time the work of opposition in the old A. F. of L. unions must be intensified and the workers in these organizations won over from a policy of social imperialism to a class policy. The Trade Union Unity League must be built into a real mass organization and developed within the shortest possible time into the central leading organization of all revolutionary trade union forces in the United States. In this work of organizing the unorganized, the increasing role of women and youth workers must be borne in mind. The Negro proletariat plays an increasingly important role in the building of the new unions. Its increasing importance in the ranks of the main bulk of the proletariat makes it necessary that every effort be bent to organize the unorganized Negro proletariat into unions. In this connection, the Party must carry on a merciless struggle against white chauvinism and any attempt towards segregating the Negro workers. Where the white workers will not join the same union with the Negro workers, the Party must stand by the policy of organizing the Negro workers together with such white workers as will fight shoulder to shoulder with Negro workers in the same union, while, at the same time, carrying on a campaign of enlightenment to overcome the prejudices of the white workers.

The Party must take up the work of organizing the unorganized in earnest on the basis of the struggle for the everyday needs of the workers. The Party must everywhere stimulate the organization of shop committees and the formation of the unions. This organization must be on the basis of the struggle against capitalist rationalisation and its consequences, against the speedup, against unemployment and the growing insecurity of the workers, for the seven hour day and six hours for underground workers and those engaged in injurious trades and for social insurance, against all efforts to lower their standard of living, the lengthening of the hours of labor, the worsening of their conditions, wage cuts, etc.

aiming to convert the defensive battles of the workers into offensive struggles and lead these struggles into channels of political struggles.

The Party fractions in the new unions must strive to convert these unions into real mass organizations through intensification of their struggles against the employers and the A. F. of L. bureaucracy and the capitalist government. We must guard against these unions becoming mere propaganda organizations but must see to it that they are actually industrial unions, organizing the struggles of the workers on the basis of the everyday needs of the workers.

The Party must now really carry through the decision that every member become a member of a trade union. All Party members in the trade unions must organize into fractions which will function systematically and continuously, thereby assuring the leading role of the Party in the mass organizations. The work in the reformist unions must be intensified and strong sections of the Trade Union Unity League built in these organizations on the basis of constant struggle to win the masses in them for the revolutionary trade unions.

The Party must organize the unemployed and connect up their struggle with the struggle of the employed. The Party must make clear to all workers the meaning of the present structural unemployment resulting from the intensification of the labor process. The Party must organize a vigorous campaign for all forms of social insurance, at the cost of the employer and the state, and for the seven hour day and the five day week.

In order to overcome the weaknesses in mobilising the masses around the Gastonia struggle in bringing home to them the full political meaning of this class fight, the Party must concentrate on the following main tasks:

1. The Party must with the greatest energy proceed with the building of the National Textile Workers Union, the Trade Union Unity League the International Labor Defense and the Workers International Relief in the South. All this work is proceeding under the leadership of the Communist Party which must be built. The Party must concentrate in building its organizations in the South during the present struggle and not make the mistake of the past of being the leader of the mass struggles and at the same time failing to crystalize its influence organizationally. Only a mass Communist Party in the South - that is, only the growth of the influence and organization of our Party in the South will be able to organize the masses in the struggle against capitalist rationalisation, and convert the struggle from an economic struggle into a political struggle. Our work in the South must be based upon the development of sharp struggles in defense of the workers' everyday demands.

The Party must set up a District organization in the South, publish a weekly paper devoted to the struggles of the South and tying them up organically with the developing struggles of the workers of the country, build its factory and mill nuclei, publish factory papers, etc.

The Party must organize against the terror of the employers by stimulating the organization of MILL DEFENSE COMMITTEES that will mobilise workers to protect themselves and to resist the fascist attacks against the workers. Committees that will defend workers' gatherings and workers' organizations.

The Party must throughout the country organize the widest possible movement around Gastonia, create special actions committees, and carry on the widest agitation for all forms of demonstrations of support for the Gastonia victims.

2. The position of the liberals, socialists, the Cannonites and Lovestoneites who try to reduce this case to a mere "frame up" as a sort of miscarriage of "justice" must be exposed and combatted. The Party must make clear to the workers that the workers have a right to organize themselves for their defense and in defense of their organizations. This is not a case of the miscarriage of "justice". This is one of the countless cases of capitalist justice, capitalist violence against the workers, increasing in the present period of the radicalization of the masses, a typical example of the class role of the capitalist state. Only the mass mobilization of the workers of the country can defeat the terror of the employers and their government. The Party must carry on a struggle against the legalistic illusions resulting from the maneuvers of the bosses and their courts.

B. AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR

Defense of the Soviet Union: The struggle against the danger of imperialist war and especially the imperialist attack on the Soviet Union must be in the center of the everyday activity of the Party. In this campaign the Party must particularly expose the American Federation, the Socialist Party and the Musteite as agencies of American Imperialism in its war preparations. The Party must expose the pacifist camouflage of the bourgeoisie with its Kellogg Pacts, Young Plans, etc. The Musteites with their left phrases must particularly be exposed as they are the most dangerous elements in the ranks of the labor movement. Similarly, the Party must expose before the masses the social imperialist role of the Lovestone and Cannon renegades. The Party must popularize the achievements of the Soviet Union in the building of Socialism, and particularly the successes of the Five Year Plan.

The agitation and organization among the armed forces must be systematically carried on. Special attention must be paid to organizing the struggle of the workers in the war industries.

The results of International Red Day have demonstrated the readiness of large sections of the American workers to struggle against imperialist war and for the defense of the Soviet Union. The results of International Red Day must be studied and the contacts established followed up. Future movements of this character must be carried on with a more intense application of the united front from below.

The Party must intensify the struggle against American Imperialism in the colonies and semi-colonies, against imperialist penetration in Latin-America, etc. The Colonial Department must be strengthened and the building of the Anti-Imperialist League considered a major task.

The Party must strengthen its relations with the Communist Parties of Latin-America and the colonies and assist the weaker Communist Parties in every way, and help organize Communist Parties where they do not exist (Philippines). Closer contact must be established with the Communist Parties of Canada, Great Britain and China.

C. THE FIGHT AGAINST SOCIAL REFORMISM AND THE RIGHT DANGER

Without a merciless struggle against all brands of social reformism in the working class as well as opportunistic tendencies in the Party, the Party cannot gain the leading role in the labor movement, cannot become a mass party. The struggle against the Lovestone renegades within the Party must be intensified and all conciliatory tendencies towards them within the Party rooted out. The struggle against social reformism in the labor movement, the weakening of its influence

in the ranks of the workers will weaken the right danger in the Party.

The Cannon-Trotskyites have practically completed their development from their ultra left phrases to open opportunism. Travelling by a different route they have come practically to the same conclusions as the openly right wing Lovestone group on all important issues before the working class. The Party must expose the Cannon and Lovestone renegades as part of social reformism, at this time its left-wing.

The Labor Party

The Sixth World Congress declared on the question of the Labor Party:

"That the Party concentrates on the work in the trade unions, on organizing the unorganized, etc., and in this way lays the basis for the practical realization of the slogan of a broad Labor Party organized from below."

In this statement of policy, the C.I. attacks the opportunist conception of a Labor Party in the United States, which is now becoming the unifying slogan of all the so-called "left" social reformists from the Socialist Party and Musteites to the Lovestone and Cannon groups. The Labor Party slogan as used by these elements must be understood in the light of the present third period, which intensifies the treacherous role of social reformism, the growing social fascist character of the Socialist Party, the development of the British Labor Party openly as a tool of imperialism, the treacherous character of the so-called Progressive "left social reformists", from the standpoint of the tactic of the united front from below. The Communist Party must combat such opportunist use of the Labor Party slogan. Independent working class political action cannot be realized through the united front with reformist leaders and reformist organizations, but can be established only by the united front from below through the most merciless struggle against the social reformists on the basis of the fight for the everyday demands of the workers, against the capitalist parties and their social reformist henchmen.

D. BUILDING PARTY ORGANIZATION

The present situation makes possible the starting of a real recruiting campaign to enrol thousands of the most militant workers into the ranks of the Communist Party. Hitherto this work has been entirely unsystematic and sporadic, and the tens of thousands of workers who came to our ranks were not kept by the Party because of the bad organizational work of the Party and the factional regime which dominated its internal life. At present the whole objective situation and the genuine efforts of the Party to overcome the shortcomings of its internal life will make possible not only the recruiting of thousands of new workers, but will also make it possible for the Party to keep the new members. The recruiting campaign should start with the November 7th celebrations and last for about two months, until the Lenin Memorial.

The center of the recruiting campaign must be organized in the factories with the aim not only of securing new members, but of securing new proletarian members from the basic industries preferably, and with the result that simultaneously the Party will increase its base in the factory nuclei, by the formation of new factory nuclei and the strengthening politically and numerically of the existing factory nuclei.

The recruiting campaign must make special efforts towards the recruiting of Negro proletarians. In connection with this, the whole of the Negro work must be strengthened, new literature on Negro work published, the Negro Departments in the districts and in the Center strengthened, and the whole Party mobilized for the winning of the Negro masses for Communism. Similarly, the Womens Department in the Center must be reorganized and strengthened, and the womens work of the Party put on a sound basis as part of the campaign of recruiting women workers into the Party. The Party must give serious attention to the building of the Young Communist League into a mass organization, as well as to the recruiting of younger proletarians into the ranks of the Party.

As part of this campaign, we must aim at increasing the circulation of the Daily Worker and the entire Party Press. The Daily Worker must be made into a real mass organ connected with the masses in the shops through a whole network of factory correspondents. The Party nuclei must stimulate the organization of factory correspondents. This is one of the best guarantees not only of establishing the contacts of the Daily Worker in the shops, but also of increasing its circulation. The entire Party must be made to realize the important role of the Party central organ and the necessity to convert it into a real mass organ.

The Party fractions in the ILD, WIR, Friends of the Soviet Union, AIL, must utilize this campaign to draw the most advanced workers in these organizations into the Party, while at the same time increasing the mass base and activities of these organizations.
